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time of the great festivals such as those in honor of the spirits of the departed. The words of the example selected (melodic figure 9), refer to some historic or mythical event. Each *nato* must have its characteristic melody; it is said that those learned in such things were able to recognize even at a considerable distance what *nato* was being sung. When the Naiki tribe of Atuona came together to celebrate a festival in which all the subtribes were to participate, the old men of each of the four subdivisions of the tribe would meet to learn and perform chants of various kinds. On the morning of the opening of the festival, the drumming and the chanting of the *nato* were commenced before dawn. A number of *nato* were first chanted, and after them the *pu'e* and other songs.

The singing was accompanied by clapping as indicated in the melodic figure and by the beating of the great drums (*pahu anaana*) and the small drums (*tutu*). It will be noted that the example given has four parts or variations of the melody used with different parts of the poetry.

PU'E

The *pu'e* was perhaps the most frequently used, and hence most important of the religious chants of the Marquesans. The word *pu'e* means "to grow," and the words of the chant, which is very long, recount the growth of the land. The chant was intoned by the tribal priest upon the occasion of important family rites, such as the consecration of a new canoe or house, and by a large group of old men at the feast place at great festivals. When chanted by a chorus of old men, the singing was accompanied by a number of great drums about six feet in height, and small drums, in addition to the clapping indicated in the melodic figure. (See melodic figure 10.) The chant was strictly tapu—no women were allowed to be present when it was sung.

METHOD OF RECORDING CHANTS

The melodies presented in this paper were recorded by ear with the aid of a violin which was tuned to a definite pitch by means of a bell. In recording tempo, a watch served as a standard for measuring the number of beats per minute. These chants were carefully worked out and checked up with informants who approved them upon repetition, and may be accepted as roughly correct illustrations of native singing. The song entitled *ru'u* was recorded on the island of Uahuka, with the aid of Teahu Taniha and his wife, Tahia Pooheana. All the other chants were worked out at Atuona, Hivaoa, with the friendly assistance of the learned Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane, the organizer and leader of such dancing and singing as is still performed upon the occasion of the Bastile Day celebrations of the French

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Administration. The type of recreational songs called *rari* in the southern, and *ru'u* in the northern Marquesas islands is the only one that may be said really to survive today. Other chants are held in mind by a few of the older people with tenacious memories. It is probable that one could count on the fingers the number of natives living today who can give either words or melodies of the very sacred chants such as the *pu'e*.

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The circumstances that led to my being able to record the melodies of the chants included in this study should perhaps be mentioned, for the story throws a good deal of light on the subtle influences that may help or hinder the ethnologist in Polynesia. They also reveal clearly that fathomless depths of "information" may lie at the bottom of the mind even of an apparently perfectly "civilized" and "missionized" native that may be tapped by the sympathetic and friendly student if he happens to touch the right spring that will throw open the doors in the natures of these people who are capable of appearing as open and accommodating as a smiling lagoon, while in fact their innermost thoughts are as tightly shut in and invisible as the pearl oyster that lies in his closed shell on the coral bottom.

Mrs. Handy and I had lived for three months at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa without hearing any native music in spite of the fact that I had repeatedly asked native friends with whom we were continually associated if they did not know how to sing some of the old songs, receiving always a negative reply. When in the fourth month we went to the island of Uahuka in pursuance of our various studies I had with me a cheap violin, procured in Tahiti entirely with a view to giving myself diversion and amusement. At Hane, on Uahuka, where our relationship with the inhabitants of the small local settlement was very friendly, I produced my violin one evening when some of the young natives were at our house and we had a modest concert for their amusement, the violin and Mrs. Handy's voice furnishing the entertainment with some songs that would be called truly ancient in our own country. Our friends, few of whom had ever seen or heard a violin, and none of whom had ever been entertained with music by foreigners, were duly enthusiastic, and concerts were thereafter a regular feature in the evenings during our stay. What was our surprise and delight one evening when the local missionary was absent in another valley, to have a small group of young native men and women, after much whispered consultation, arrange themselves on the ground outside our house and commence the Ru'u Tohu'i. Thereafter there were many evenings when we exchanged music in true Polynesian fashion; but the natives would never sing when they thought the missionary might hear it or get wind of their backsliding. Later, on the island of Uapou, where the people were less independent in spirit, I never succeeded in hearing a single song, in

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115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r*, *k*, *v*, or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

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tion of words and their relationship to those of other Polynesian tongues quite clear to students. In the dictionary the glottal stop is indicated by an accent printed over the vowel following. (See Dordillon, pp. 5-6).

The native pronunciation of proper names has been followed as the basis of orthography throughout, in translations as well as in texts. The more important localities and tribes may be identified by reference to the maps published in Bulletin 9.[1]

In rendering the Marquesan into English I have sought to give literal translation and to preserve the native idiom as well as possible, without making the English grotesque, rather than to give a smooth English version. The tales are essentially Marquesan in character—rugged and rough. If there are any that deserve rendering into polished English, such transformed versions should appear elsewhere than in a volume that seeks to preserve the lore in its unvarnished integrity.

Like most people living in a state of nature, the Marquesans have no more sense of impropriety in describing incidents relating to sex life and the like than they have in talking about eating and drinking or any other physical habits common to all mankind. In some stories, grotesque incidents of this nature appear as embroidery of the main theme. In others they constitute main themes. Throughout the legends the sex motif is more dominant than any other. I trust no reader will be led by this to judge the ancient Marquesans to have been immoral or degraded. They are not to be judged by our standards. The Marquesans of old were doubtless as strict in their obedience to tapus and proprieties affecting sex relationships as they were to other tapus: and the respect for tapus prevailing among Polynesians in the days of their folk automony certainly exceeded that of Europeans and Americans of the present day for either law or morality. In my judgment the sex interest shown in their folk lore demonstrates the Marquesans to have been essentially healthy in mind—there is none of the morbid dwelling on erotic detail characteristic of the folk lore of certain other races more effetely civilized.

Only an understanding of the Marquesan nature in its setting can give a true basis for judgment. They were probably the most robust and exuberant of all the Polynesians, and lived in complete isolation in tropical islands of unsurpassed beauty. There was no venereal disease among them. Their philosophy of sex was that of sons and daughters of nature whose environment permitted a remarkable amount of freedom in the indulgence of an appetite which one cause or another—environment, congestion of population, religious teaching—has forced most peoples in the world to repress to a greater degree. The whole story of the Marquesans' philosophy of sex lies in the word which they most commonly employ when speaking of intercourse, namely *kau*, which means sport, or play.

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000 In judging of the people on the basis of these legends, both with regard to morality and also barbarism, I beg of readers to remember two things: that folk lore depends for its interest upon exaggeration; and that very little absolutely uncensored and unvarnished lore has up to this time been published from any Polynesian islands.

126 Incidents and episodes in the legends that are too frank for literal translation and publication in English have not been translated; but, in the interests of science—for some contain items of ethnological interest—they are presented in Marquesan which any serious student can translate with the aid of a dictionary.

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THE MARQUESAN LANGUAGE

The language spoken by the Marquesas Islanders is one of the group of related tongues spoken throughout the Polynesian islands, generally called Polynesian. Within the small area of their isolated home, these islanders differentiated their speech into several dialects having distinctive phonetic and tonal traits and variations in vocabulary; but, in comparison with the divergence of Marquesan from other Polynesian languages, these local variations are of minor importance. Marquesan differs from other Polynesian languages so much that the latter are only vaguely comprehensible to an intelligent Marquesan. But, as it is in each of the other main groups of islands in Polynesia, the Marquesan's language, like his culture, was unified throughout the group, so that the speech of a man of any island in the group was plainly understood by one from any other. It is obvious to the student travelling in the islands that local differences are but divergencies from a common original. There is little reason to believe that local variations have resulted from influences or accretions coming from outside the islands.

The notes which follow are based on a careful, though not very extensive, study of the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. The grammar and syntax of the language is sufficiently well outlined in the dictionary of Dordillon. For this reason little attention was paid to these subjects other than that required for personal use of the language. No sooner had I reached the islands, however, than I realized that the orthography adopted by Dordillon was totally inadequate for indicating the phonetics of the dialect. In conjunction with the other investigations a short but careful study of the phonetics and vocalization was therefore made in the following way: A list of words covering all the possible combinations of consonants and vowels in the local dialect was made, and various informants in different sections of the group were tested out with these words. The summary of the results of this study as given in the following pages has been published in this collection in the hope that it may contain information directly contributory to the study of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the islanders.

Phonetics

The ten consonants (*f*, *g*, *h*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *t*, and *v*) and the five vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) used by Dordillon are by no means sufficient to cover the phonetics of the dialect of the Marquesas. Dordillon speaks of some variations in the vowel sounds, but there are more and greater variations than he indicates.

The following list shows the consonant and vowel variation in the northern and southern sections—called by Dordillon northwestern and southeastern sections of the group (compare Dordillon, pp. 86-89).

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the appearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friendship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in altering these attitudes on the part of the informants. 124 [521] 123 124

/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excavations which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as 123 521 [126]

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Marquises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent